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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01
	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/024W		
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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2269

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PWPKLLS PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 04765

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, RW

SUBJECT: TOWARD ARUSHA

REF: KIGALI 4740

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: MEETINGS OF POLITICAL LEADERS WITH
RELIGIOUS FACILITATION CONTINUE. HABYARIMANA FOUND
THE BISHOPS' FORMULATIONS LACKING IN DETAIL AND
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BELIEVES NOVEMBER 23 ARUSHA MEETING SHOULD START WITH
OTHER SUBJECTS UNTIL CONSENSUS REACHED HERE ON BASIC
POLITICAL ISSUES. HE WILL CONSULT WITH PRIME
MINISTER AND PROBABLY ASK TANZANIANS TO CHECK OUT
THIS PROPOSAL WITH RPF. THE MRND MINISTERS HAVE
CIRCULATED A PAPER DESCRIBING FIVE POSSIBLE SCENARIOS
FOR SELECTION OF LOCAL OFFICIALS AND NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY MEMBERS. IT COULD FORM THE BASIS FOR
INTERNAL NEGOTIATIONS. HABYARIMANA FAVORS A FORMULA
INCLUDING TEMPORARY ELECTION OF LOCAL OFFICIALS. THE
COMPOSITION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT REMAINS THE MOST

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STICKY POINT. END SUMMARY.

THE SCHEDULE FOR THE WEEK

3. PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA HAD A GOOD MEETING WITH THE LEADERS OF THE RELIGIOUS GROUP THE EVENING OF NOVEMBER 17. THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19, THE BISHOPS WILL MEET WITH THE ELEVEN PARTIES NOT IN THE GOVERNMENT. THEY PLAN TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT AND THE SIXTEEN PARTIES ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20, AND THEN FINALLY HAVE A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT AND THE FIVE PARTIES IN THE GOVERNMENT.

4. THE MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT WAS WARM AND CONSTRUCTIVE, AND THE BISHOPS EXPRESSED OPTIMISM THAT ALL PROBLEMS WOULD BE RESOLVED. THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET DIRECTOR, RUHIGIRA, WHO WAS PRESE LV(, TOLD ME, HOWEVER, THAT THE BISHOPSNY

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S NOT GOTTEN INTO THE DETAILS OF THE PROBLEM AND, CONSEQUENTLY, THE PROFOUND POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES THAT EXIST AT THE PRESENT TIME WERE BRUSHED OVER LIGHTLY.

NOVEMBER 23

5. NOBODY WANTS TO INTERRUPT THE PLANS FOR A MEETING IN ARUSHA ON NOVEMBER 23, BUT GIVEN THE SCHEDULE ABOVE, IT SEEMS INCONCEIVABLE THAT A CONSENSUS WILL BE REACHED ON TIME TO DISCUSS THE MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUES BEGINNING ON NOVEMBER 23. RUHIGIRA STILL WANTS TO GO FORWARD WITH DISCUSSIONS OF INTEGRATION OF THE ARMY AND REFUGEES DURING THE EARLY DAYS OF THE NEXT ROUND IN ARUSHA. I HAVE URGED HIM TO BE IN TOUCH WITH THE TANZANIANS AS THE FACILITATORS TO CHECK OUT WHETHER THE RPF WOULD BE WILLING TO CHANGE THE AGENDA TO ACCOMMODATE THE POLITICAL PROCESS HERE. RUHIGIRA EXPECTS TO HAVE A DECISION BY MID DAY NOVEMBER 19.

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SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS BEGIN

6. RUHIGIRA PROPOSES TO PUT TOGETHER A SMALL GROUP OF MINISTERS AND PARTY LEADERS TO DIG FURTHER INTO THE PROPOSALS WHICH ARE NOW FLOATING. HE MAY SUGGEST THAT THE BISHOPS FORM THE GROUP FROM THE CABINET AND

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WORK THROUGH THE NONCE TO HAVE THE ACTUAL INVITATIONS
MADE.

7. BASIS FOR SOME OPTIMISM NOW IS THAT THE MRND
MINISTERS HAVE FINALLY COME UP WITH A PROPOSAL. IN
FACT THEY HAVE CIRCULATED A 14-PAGE PAPER WITH
ANNEXES DESIGNED TO BE A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH
THE OTHER PARTIES. RUHIGIRA GAVE ME A COPY LAST
NIGHT BEFORE IT WAS DISTRIBUTED, SEEKING OUR VIEWS ON
UTILITY OF THE PAPER.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 KIGALI 04765

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8. IT IS A SERIOUS JOB. THE FIRST SIX PAGES OF ANALYSIS CONTAIN NOTHING PARTICULARLY NEW AND WILL SURELY OFFEND THE OPPOSITION PARTIES. BUT THE SECOND SECTION OF THE PAPER DESCRIBES MODALITIES FOR PUTTING IN PLACE THE AUTHORITIES AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE TRANSITION. THE PAPER DESCRIBES FIVE POTENTIAL SCENARIOS FOR DEALING WITH THE DESIGNATION OF LOCAL

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AUTHORIHB BTS, THE DESIGNATION OF DEPUTIES FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ELECTIONS AT THE BEGINNING AND THE END OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD, AND THE LENGTH OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD. FOR EACH SCENARIO, THE PAPER THEN GIVES AN ANALYSIS OF HOW TO PUT THESE FOUR ELEMENTS INTO OPERATION. THE FIVE SCENARIOS ARE: (1) SELECTION OF LOCAL OFFICIALS AND DEPUTIES BY A NATIONAL CONFERENCE, (2) SELECTION BY NOMINATION, (3) SELECTION BY PARTIAL ELECTIONS, (4) SELECTION BY PROVISIONAL ELECTIONS, AND (5) SELECTION BY DEFINITIVE ELECTIONS.

9. WE BELIEVE THAT SOME PLACE, POSSIBLY IN BETWEEN THE PARTIAL ELECTIONS AND PROVISIONAL ELECTIONS FOR SELECTING LOCAL OFFICIALS, THERE MAY BE SOME COMMON GROUND. ALSO NOTEWORTHY IN THE MRND PAPER IS THE CONCLUSION THAT THE AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT IN THE PROTOCOLS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED EITHER THROUGH A REVIEW OF THE CONTESTED ISSUES AT ARUSHA OR IN THE PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTING THE PROVISIONS. THE FIVE SCENARIOS ARE AN ATTEMPT TO HANDLE THE DIFFICULTIES THROUGH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT.

10. THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL PROPOSAL IN THE PAPER IS

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THE ONE THAT DISCUSSES THE SELECTION OF MINISTRY PORTFOLIOS. THE MRND SUGGESTS THAT EACH PARTY IN THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT SHOGCZNQ AND OTHER PARTIES. CLEARLY THE PROPOSAL WILL BE RATHER QUICKLY REJECTED BECAUSE THE PARTIES BELIEVE THAT THE PORTFOLIOS FOR THE RPF SHOULD COME FROM THE MRND GROUP. NEVERTHELESS, THE PAPER IS A SERIOUS

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EFFORT TO PUT FORWARD PROPOSALS FOR FURTHER INTERNAL NEGOTIATION. IF WE AND THE NONCE AND RUHIGIRA ARE ABLE TO PUT TOGETHER A SMALL GROUP OF RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE, THEY WILL BE ABLE TO USEHWBGJ CAJT\$, . 'Q8,-)8"3\$. HE ALSO BELIEVES THAT USEFUL DISCUSSIONS CAN BE HELD ON REFUGEE QUESTIONS. I AGREED WITH THE PRESIDENT TO CONSULT WITH THE NONCE WITH A VIEW TOWARDS HAVING THE BISHOPS SET UP A SMALL COORDINATING GROUP SOMEWHAT ON THE LINES OF WHAT WAS USED LAST FEBRUARY AND MARCH. WE ALSO DISCUSSED THE QUESTION OF DEMOBILIZATION; I WILL SEND BY SEPTEL SOME THOUGHTS ON THE SUBJECT. FLATEN

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